5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 quent marriages, if the man had proved a good, kind husband
585 to his first wife, other men, who thought a good deal of their daughters, might propose to give them to him, so that they would be well treated. The man sent over the horses to the new father-in-law's lodge, and the girl returned to his, bringing her things with her. Or if the man saw a girl he liked, he would propose for her to her father.

834 Among the Blackfeet, there was apparently no form of
[584] courtship, such as prevails among our southern Indians.
Young men seldom spoke to young girls who were not rela-
[171] tions, and the girls were carefully guarded. They never went out of the lodge after dark, and never went out during the day, except with the mother or some other old woman.
584 The girl, therefore, had very little choice in the selection of
[593] a husband. If a girl was told she must marry a certain man, she had to obey. She might cry, but her father's will was law, and she might be beaten or even killed by him, if she
●[762] did not do as she was ordered. As a consequence of this severity, suicide was quite common among the Blackfoot girls. A girl ordered to marry a man whom she did not like would often watch her chance, and go out in the brush and hang herself. The girl who could not marry the man she wanted to was likely to do the same thing.

593 The man had absolute power over his wife. Her life was in his hands, and if he had made a payment for her, he could do with her about as he pleased. On the whole, however, women who behaved themselves were well treated and received a good deal of consideration. Those who were light-headed, or foolish, or obstinate and stubborn were
[684] sometimes badly beaten. Those who were unfaithful to their husbands usually had their noses or ears, or both, cut off for the first offence, and were killed either by the husband or some relation, or by the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* for the second.
[759] Many of the doctors of the highest reputation in the tribe were women.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

eclipse of the sun were observed at Fort McKenzie. The Indians viewed these strange phenomena as forerunners of some great catastrophe.[33] Four years later this dire prophecy seemed to come true when the Blackfoot tribes were again humbled by a devastating smallpox plague. The epidemic originated in infected clothing carelessly placed aboard the American Fur Company's steamer in St. Louis. It spread to some of the passengers and eventually to all of the Upper Missouri tribes north of the Sioux. At the mouth of the Little Missouri a Blackfoot Indian en route home boarded the steamboat. At Fort Union he changed to the company's keelboat bound for Fort McKenzie with supplies and goods for the Blackfoot trade. On the way upriver this man and two other passengers broke out with smallpox. Informed of the approach of this disease-ridden boat, Alexander Culbertson, then in charge at Fort McKenzie, thought it prudent to halt its progress at the mouth of the Judith until the disease abated and cold weather set in. But the large camp of some five hundred lodges of Piegans and Blood Indians awaiting the arrival of the trade goods refused to listen to Culbertson's warning about the fatal disease. They threatened to bring the boat to the fort themselves if he wouldn't do so. So Culbertson ordered the keelboat to proceed to Fort McKenzie, where two of its infected passengers died shortly thereafter.

The Indians insisted on opening trade as usual. When they finished trading, they departed. Disease swept the fort, killing twenty-six Indian women and a white man. Ten days after they left the fort, smallpox began to break out among the Piegans and Blood Indians. Terrified at the sight of their healthy kinsmen wasting away with corruption, some of them committed suicide at the first symptoms of the disease by stabbing themselves or throwing themselves into streams. That fall Culbertson visited a Piegan camp of about sixty lodges in which two old women, too feeble to travel, were the sole survivors. At the junction of the Belly and St. Mary rivers the mortality was so high among the Bloods and Northern Blackfeet that they named the place

[33] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, 134.

[i.e., the prophecy of a catastrophe based on falling stars and a total solar eclipse in 1833--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

584 through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families
585 accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

584 Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the
602 extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the
584 accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission
[657] school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable
[602] weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his
585 bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service
[431] performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

586 In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collab-
583 orate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the
586 extreme is the following:

762 A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported
626 to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends beseeched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

[1]This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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When this pressure was unavailing, the two were shunned by all. After several months together, the two quarrelled among themselves over suspected unfaithfulness. They separated, and the man committed suicide after leaving behind notes addressed to his first wife. The woman later remarried, though to a man of lower status than herself, and by exemplary behavior and even some show of submissiveness has lived down much of the scandal.

Here all pressure failed to dissolve the match, even ostracism. When the microcosm itself collapsed, there were no other face-saving alternatives for the man than suicide, and suicide under any circumstances is very rare. Usually the agency policy is laissez-faire with respect to marital affairs, and the foregoing case shows that the maximum persuasion came from relatives and other Indians who "cut" them socially. The agency is more often invoked to untangle the conflicting claims on property between the offended and the offending parties after separation. Here the council of chiefs is particularly useful in advising the agent as to Blackfoot practice and sentiment.

Although we have no substantiating statistics, the frequency of separation seems higher today than in former times. There are few Blackfoot who have not separated and remarried at least once, more often four or five times. "Stealing" of wives or husbands, i.e., infidelity, is a frequent accusation, and the resultant jealousy becomes the cause for most separations. In the past a husband's suspicion of unfaithfulness led to brutal treatment of his wife, such as nose-cutting, society "rape" fests, or his sending her away. Of late such jealousy seems to have increased, particularly since women as well as men are today considered capable of jealousy. The offended spouse either departs or sends the offender away, if the latter has not already eloped. This probably means the termination of two marriages, that of the co-respondent and that of the unfaithful woman. As a result, conflicting claims for horses, wagons, and household furnishings between these parties arise, and settlement becomes a delicate problem for the agent and the council of chiefs.

The causes for the increased fragility of marriage bonds lie in the many social changes that have occurred since settling on the reserve. First, we note an increased proportion of males to females, after the cessation of wars. Seduction has long been considered an unofficial male *coup*, and as this feeling has not diminished, and people live in greater proximity, opportunities for illicit affairs are greater today. In the second place, the punishment meted out by the offended husband has decreased in severity in the light of white disapproval of mutilation.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

000 survived the many dangers of war and wilderness living and their offspring might be likely to survive in the same way. 162 Because of the constant warring, the fatality rate among young men was pretty high, which gave the people a majority 595 of women. That was probably the major reason why men had several wives.

837 However, just as wild bulls jealously protect their harems and fight intruders, so did my grandfathers watch over their wives. Tribal customs allowed them to kill intruders, or at least demand heavy retributions, but still the calls of nature could not always be ignored. Many young wives of old men in big households suffered from loneliness and a desire to be loved. Many young men risked their lives to find mutual satisfaction if they could meet with such a lonely girl out along one of the trails to the water or the firewood-gathering places. Some old men even sanctioned these relationships, as long as they were discreet and brought them no public disgrace. Occasionally an older husband would give up one of his younger wives if he knew that she was hopelessly in love with a good young man. However, more often such romances [762] brought much frustration and unhappiness, and suicide was not uncommon among young, heartbroken women.

782 The tribal truth test for the virtuousness of women was the 837 grand Sun Dance ceremony, since only those women who had been true to their husbands were eligible to make the sacred vows. It was not unusual for a husband to challenge his wife to put up a Sun Dance if he doubted her faithfulness to him. All members of the tribe were raised to understand that lying under any such sacred circumstances meant death to the liar and suffering to the relatives. That is not to say that the Sun Dance was mainly such a truth test for the holy woman, since most of those women lived well-known lives far above reproach. But there are stories of women whose virtuousness was publicly contested and whose death soon after was taken as final proof by all the people.

but were prevented by the government from placing the bodies on scaffolds or in trees. 766 [177]

According to tradition, the Spirits of our People go to a place called the Sandhills after the person's body dies. Good, bad, or indifferent as the person was when physically alive, so will the Spirit go on forever in the Sandhills. A deceased person's most cherished possessions were usually placed with the body, so that their Spirits could continue to be together. The same was true of a man's favorite horse. It was often shot by his grave. Favorite horses that were not killed often died of starvation while mourning the loss of their master. 775 [764] [231]

It is thought to take some time for a person's Spirit to leave the body completely and go on to the Sandhills. For that reason, a person would sometimes be brought back from death if he had unusual spiritual powers and had instructed a close friend or relative how to recall them. For the same reason, few people would touch a dead person or go near his burial ground, especially at night. It is said that a dead person's Spirit, or ghost, often tries to persuade others to accompany it. Widows who commit suicide by their husbands' graves are said to have been persuaded to join them on their way to the Sandhills. At the Sandhills it is said that life goes on much like here, only in Spirit. The Old Way of life is the one that goes on, of course. [761] [762]

Some of our People have slept by old graves in search of Power from the Spirits who may be there. I was once inspired to seek such Power. In my dream I was visited by a skeleton-man in a 769 787 123

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 229-A]
[p. 228-A]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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You must have entered [here before]. He denied it. And now the boiling is ended [that means: the story is at an end].

A woman who killed herself.

539 762 I'káua A'kai-Pekàni. Omáaχks akéu, àχpatómiu. Amói otáitàmsi Pekániua, omí ómaχpatòmi amóm okáni áisàtsìminai. Omí nepústautaksìninai, itótapitsipnyìnai. Ki itapítoχkyaisìnai. Otoχpúiskisìni itsítaχtàu omím mistsísim. A'ikəistòkau omá Pekániua. Omá manikâ'piu itsóo. Mátsisamòa, itsínitau. Sotámaχpistapaχkusksinòau, inítaχsi. Amó Pekániu aíistapistùtsiu. Mátsisamòa, itaksístutsiu. Omím okánim itótsatokèkau. Omá akéu, áχpatòmiu, omí ómi otsítainiksistotòk. A'nistsiuaie: Kitáiiksisamauksistotòki. Itsíniχ'katsìu omí ómaχpatòm. A'nistsiu óm: Annóχk nitsikáχsitaki, náχksikipinòaχs nímaχpatòma. Itotóχkoχtau. Omím okáni stámitapò. A'iistâχkimàie. Itsíniχ'kiu. Istúnniχ'koχtoyìu omí ómaχpatòm: Náχtau nitáiksiskòtsimaua? Itsitótau omí mistsís, otsóknitsinòaχpiai. Omí matápiinai[A] íkaitsipstàupiinai omím okáni. A'nniniè otáiiâχtòk, otsíniχ'ksi ki otápauànatsìmmaχs omím initáiim òmaχpatómi. Itsitámiso omíma mistsísim, otsitótauàsàiniχ'pi. A'itoχkitòpiunie. Omí apís itsitsísksipim, ki itsí-

The ancient Peigans had the medicine-lodge. There was a woman, [who] had a side-husband [i. e. a lover]. [One day] when these Peigans were having a happy time, that one, her side-husband, was looking at this medicine-lodge. There was a post, he stood up against it. And he laid his face on it. The paint on his face showed on the post. The Peigans had done making the medicine-lodge. That young man went on a raid. It was not long, then he was killed. Then he was immediately known, that he was killed. These Peigans moved away from there. It was not long, then they moved around [that means: they turned back]. They camped near that medicine-lodge. That woman, that had had [that young man as] a side-husband, was treated badly by her husband. She told him: You have treated me badly a very long time. She called [the name of] her side-husband. She told her husband: Now I am very glad, that I may see my side-husband soon. Then she went after wood. Then she went to the medicine-lodge. She got near it.

A [Erratum: this word ought to be divided ma-táp'inai--Analyst]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

tsapoχkyàkiuaie. Itsínnâχpàipiu. Ki omá matápiu itsitápipòmaχkau. Otáitotaipisaie, ákainìnai. Omí ómiai omík nâχkâχtáumaχkàiin, ákainìn otoχkéman. Omí stsíki matápi, ánniaie otáitsinikàk, manistsípùyiχ'pi ki manístoχkuyèniχ'pi. Kénni.

She sang. She sang words about her side-husband: Where is he, I had bodily contact with? She then came up to that post, where she had seen him before. There was a person already sitting inside of the medicine-lodge. By him she was heard, how she sang and how she talked and cried about her side-husband, the one that was killed. Then she went up on the post, by which she had been crying. She sat on top of it. She tied a rope to [the post], and she put it around her neck. Then she jumped down. And that person got up and ran to her. When he got to her, she was already dead. Her husband over there was running [towards her], his wife was already dead. It was that other person, [that] was telling about her, what she talked about and how she came to die. And that is all.

[A similar suicide is recorded by Mc Clintock ont 317 sq.]

Dresses of old women burned.

Aistsíkai-Pekàniu saáinisoχtsik itáukumaiiu. Kokúyi omíksi manikâ'pii sépiapainiχ'kiuòiau. A'isæmikòkò, omíma kipitáuyis itsitótsokaipìiau. A'nistseiau: A'ikìuaχtau amóksi kipitákeks. Máumaisæmipòpiiks. Túkskàma itsípstsàmiuaiks. A'pstoyiu omí otákài: Pùχsapút. Omíksi kipitákeks

The Peigans of not long ago were camped in the lower country. In the night some young men were going about singing. It was late in the night, [when] they stopped near an old-women's-lodge. They said to each other: I wonder what these old women will be doing. They are sitting

782 In this quotation generosity applies to both man and god.
175 As in the transfer of religious fetishes and the creation of the various religious bundles, the individual's relation to the supernatural is conditioned by and related to the distri-
555 bution of goods. In the domains of secular achievement and religious recognition those persons well enough off to reward or support others generously were recognized, are "good" or ideal, and are given the social approbation desired by all men.

525 Turning to other activities, the use of leisure was
175 not particularly a problem among the Blood. From the time of Thompson,

> . . . for like all people who have too much time on their hands, they are almost to a man, more or less, given to gambling day and night.[59]

to the days of Schultz, gambling on almost anything occupied this time. Schultz tells of two major incidents in his book, My Life as an Indian, which stem from conflict inspired by gambling losses. One case, "The Great Race" tragedy is
578 averted by the cooler heads of the older men. The other case,
687 "A Game of Fate," did not turn out so benignly.
•762 Schultz introduces the episode as an unusual event.
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> There was an unusual craze for gambling that winter. By day, the men, when not hunting, played the wheel and arrow game. . . . At night the camp resounded with the solemn, wierd, gambling chant from many lodges. Even the women gambled, and many were the altercations over their bets.[60]

578 687 762 525 175

The story concerns a young man engaged by this compulsion to gamble but faced with a disastrous losing streak. Schultz remonstrates with him,

> "Just think how much you are risking; what a shame it would be were you to be set afoot, no horses with which to move camp, not even one for your woman to ride.[61]

[554] [157]

Gambling losses are reckoned along with shame and other status determinants, and therefore, it is apparent that the unusual gambling bent is somehow related to increased status competition.

At any rate, the young man would not stop. "I must play again with him, and I'm sure I will win. I shall pray. I shall make a sacrifice. I must win." And, "I can't stop until I have won back all that I have lost."[62] The young man stayed in the game, trying to recoup lost goods and lost prestige.

He was reduced to destitution, whereupon his competitor suggested the following:

> . . . I will bet everything I have won from you against your woman." The loser accepted this final challenge and, "Begin!" he cried to his adversary. "We will play. We will play for her," and he added under his breath, "for her and for another thing." Again the young man lost, and his adversary demanded immediate possession of his winnings. The young man acquiesced and the following scene transpired.
>
> "There she is!" the Fisher (loser) exclaimed, pointing to the couch where the woman lay completely covered with a buffalo robe. "There she is," he continued, "but you shall never touch her. I am going to kill you, to make a sacrifice of you here in her presence."[63]

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The terrified winner begged for his life but the enraged Fisher killed him with his knife. Then the loser turned to his woman and lifted the buffalo robe cover. She too, was dead. Covering herself with her robe, she had grasped a knife in both her hands and pressed it down into her heart. . . . "It is my fault," he said, "my fault, my fault! But you shall not go alone. I am with you yet." And before any of us could interfere, he plunged the knife he still held into his own bosom, and fell over beside her, life-blood streaming from his mouth.64

The motivations and causal factors involved in this murder-double suicide are complex; however, it is apparent that the gamblers were competing for more than diversion and that such competition could not help but lead to open and overt conflict. The drive to compete, to win, to avoid shame is all part of the tragic episode. Among the young Blood of nearly a century ago, as today, lives were not segmented into work and leisure. Success strivings continued on into the night via the hand game.

[157]

[181]

Summary

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To conclude this section on the young Blood of the past there are a number of points worth reviewing. In the search for past behaviors that relate to today, a major facet of Blood life came to light: the Blood community. Thompson noted the relevance of this unit in his description of alliances and emotions. Also, one can infer the effect of the Blood-Blackfoot community from the episodes of the war party, the bear story, and from the statement on

461 829

selves. People think all the councilors are like that. I wouldn't want that.

These contrasts between Doctor and Medicine Man and between Politician and Chief Making are interesting. There are definite and essential differences between each member of both pairs, particularly in reference to the newer white or western manifestations of the professions. However, there are marked continuities in thought between all of them. These similarities reside in the conceptualization of power and ability, or in relation to education and/or experience and [557] ability. Also, in the preceding quotation, the manipulation and direction of people is seen in both the modern and traditional realms as distasteful. The confusion and uncertainty of the informants in relation to Doctor and Politician are related to the mixed conceptualization of these activities. The young Blood see the activities of modern doctors and politicians as analogous to the functions and occupations of the traditional tribal leaders, generous men to whom one could go for political, economic, and social favors or for supernatural intervention.

461 This latter aspect brings us back to the topic of Priest-Clergy. Here the relationship between the modern role [165] and the traditional role is reversed. It was noted that the medicine man of the past did not necessarily forego the good